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ABSTRACT

Recent studies confirm that organized labor's role in society does not get fair treatment in the social studies and American history courses of the nation's schools. The report covers the first stage of AFL-CIO efforts in dealing with this problem, bringing together concerned persons in labor and education. Following the opening of the conference by Walter G. Davis and John A. Sessions, Nat Goldfinger and Moe Frankel discuss economic literacy problems in two addresses under the heading of "Labor and Economic Education." Making up a major portion of the report, "The New York Experience" offers an examination of three specific examples of labor activity in developing K-12 teacher resource materials in the New York City school systems. It includes excerpts of speeches by Albert Shanker, Carl Golden, Irving Sloan, George Wessel, and Samuel Sackman. "The Youngstown Experience" describes that community's initiative in attempting to correct imbalances in the treatment of labor in elementary and secondary school curriculum, with speeches by Al Shipka and Marcella Crann. Concluding that objective programs and a more balanced involvement of business and labor in education are needed, specific recommendations are set forth. An appendix offering a selective book list for young adults and children concludes the report. (MW)

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LABOR AND THE SCHOOLS

A Conference Report

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REPORT

of the NATIONAL PLANNING CONFERENCE on LABOR AND THE SCHOOLS

September 25-27, 1973

Washington, D.C.,

prepared by the Staff of the

AFL-CIO Department of Education

Walter G. Davis, Director

and

approved by the AFL-CIO Standing Committee on Education

Hunter P. Wharton, Chairman

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I

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

On behalf of the staff and delegates, we express our appreciation to Mr. Thomas A. Donahue, Executive Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO, Mr. David Selden, President, American Federation of Teachers and Mrs. Jean Webber, Librarian, AFL-CIO, for their contribution to the success of the Planning Conference.

Walter G. Davis
Director of Education
AFL-CIO

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II

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The education reform movement in the United States has opened the door to a wide examination of what and how children learn in our public school systems. We are indeed re-defining the concept of quality education in the light of a new commitment to relevance -- an illusive term in its own right.

High on the list of educational debate topics is the subject of the world of work. Educators, labor and industry representatives have been urging reforms which enhance the opportunities for young people entering the labor force. A new demand by industry for higher skills is probably the most discernible cry for changes in the schools. But the career education movement has also made a significant contribution toward a re-examination of our elementary - secondary school curriculum.

Relevancy has come to mean an upgrading of the economic literacy among the millions of young high school graduates turned out each year. It means a substantial understanding of the complex social, political and economic forces at work in our society.

The trade union movement plays a vital role in virtually every aspect of American life. It represents a large education consumer interest -- taking into account the education needs of union members and their families. Accordingly, trade union leaders are also taking a second look at the learning materials used in our public schools. Recent studies confirm what most unionists have complained about for years. It is that organized labor's role in society does not get fair treatment in the social studies and American history courses of the nation's schools.

Al Shipka, president of the Greater Youngstown AFL-CIO Council, finally had his fill and introduced a resolution to the National AFL-CIO Convention calling upon the Federation to organize a national effort to correct this problem.

This report covers the first stage of that effort. It represents the bringing together of a diverse group of interested and concerned persons from labor, the schools and textbook publishers to plan the most effective means for reaching the goal of providing a fair and balanced understanding of labor's role in our society.

The conference was structured to elicit a maximum response from the participants. We think that objective was achieved.

We are encouraged by the understanding and good will manifested by the conference participants and the press as we tackle this important problem.

Hopefully, American youth will eventually enter the world of work equipped to solve the problems posed by a world in the process of change with few guideposts along the way.

Walter G. Davis
Director
AFL-CIO Dept. of Education

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III

ORIENTATION

LABOR AND THE SCHOOLS

By John A. Sessions, Assistant Director,
AFL-CIO Department of Education

This national conference dealing with the place of labor and collective bargaining in the school curriculum has its genesis in a resolution introduced at the 1971 AFL-CIO convention by Delegate Al Shipka of the Youngstown, Ohio AFL-CIO Council. Never let it be said that the AFL-CIO is not a democratic organization. The resolution was adopted unanimously. This conference is a striking illustration of the ability of an individual member of the AFL-CIO to see his own ideas translated into official AFL-CIO policy and implemented as in this conference.

Dissatisfaction with the teaching about organized labor in the schools, however, did not originate at the 1971 convention. Al Shipka's resolution simply brought into focus long smoldering discontents.

As early as 1903, exactly seventy years ago, the AFL Convention directed the Executive Council "to secure the introduction of textbooks that will be more in accord with the modern thought upon social and political economy." Later, conventions frequently expressed the need for unbiased and accurate textbooks.

The situation was slow to change. In 1963, AFL-CIO President George Meany wrote in the Teachers College Journal:

> Organized labor is a part of the very fabric of our society and it ought to be an important part of any serious attempt to understand that society. In most schools today, this is not happening.

In 1967, Will Scoggins, after making an in-depth investigation of social studies textbooks, concluded, "The evidence of an anti-labor bias is abundant."

Some of you may wonder if these complaints may not simply be the result of over-sensitivity. I can assure you that this is not the case. I pulled down from my book shelves, almost at random, a widely used history textbook, Edna McGuire's The Story of American Freedom. "This book," we are told in the preface, "tells your country's story. It tells of the men and women who worked to make the United States a great nation." One might suppose that organized labor has had something to do with this story. Evidently, the author of the textbook thinks so too because she mentions unions twice. On page 219 we are told: "Workers formed groups to demand better conditions. A group of workers formed for this purpose is called a labor union. Not all workers belonged to unions. But by 1840 many did."

That is the only mention of unions until a hundred pages farther on, in a discussion of the 1930's, we are told, "More and more workers joined unions."

With an unparalleled sense of proportion, The Story of American Freedom devotes exactly as much space to organized labor as it does to the Walt Disney picture "Mary Poppins."

In effect this textbook attempts to deal with the touchy subject of unionism by ignoring it. It has not always been so in the teaching of controversial social issues. Students have too often been subjected to a simple-minded, propagandistic teaching. I myself remember well one of the questions on the final examination for my eighth grade civics class. "How do we know that socialism will not work?" And the correct answer was that it was tried during World War I when the federal government took over the operation of the railroads and made a mess of it.

I have a syllabus here for a course in The American Heritage. It was prepared in 1964 by one of the largest school districts in the state of Arizona. Here is a sample from the syllabus, and I may say a very typical sample:

> Problem -- In this country we have a heavy, progressive, graduated income tax. This is what Karl Marx proposed as point #2 in his Communist Manifesto.
>
> Question -- Should we keep this Communist program in our free enterprise economy?

Happily, the Arizona labor movement got wind of this particular curriculum innovation and prevented its ever being used. It was not so with a test on economic issues which in 1960 was administered to all senior students in Austin, Texas. Among the questions was, "Do you think that employees or owners benefit more from the increased output made possible by new equipment?" When the results were tallied, 58% of the students were so economically illiterate that they gave the "wrong" answer.

They thought that the owners benefitted more. The correct answer, of course, was that the employees benefit the most because the new equipment "has resulted in millions of jobs with high pay." To the question "Do you think it is the responsibility of the federal government to see that everyone who is willing to work has a job", 54% of the students gave the wrong answer. They thought that the federal government should have such a responsibility. The correct answer was "no" because "if the federal government does this, our entire free enterprise system is in jeopardy." And only 38% of the students answered correctly that business has done more to improve the American living standard than government or unions.

By now it will probably come as no surprise if I tell you that this test, required of all Austin high school seniors was in fact prepared by the United States Chamber of Commerce. It was used not only in Austin, but in 24 cities throughout the United States.

Fortunately, this is not the whole story. If it were, there would be little to do at this conference other than to indulge in lamentation and recrimination and to hope for something better in the future.

But by now there is a much more hopeful situation. There is a wealth of supplemental material which has become available. Samples of this material

are on display in the back of the room. A number of school systems, responding to local interest, have developed curriculum materials both for special elective courses in collective bargaining and for introducing material about workers and their unions into the regular courses in history, social studies, and even literature.

The Battle Creek, Michigan, school system, The Pennsylvania Department of Education and the Washington, D. C. school system are among those who have done outstanding work along this line.

And, finally, many of the authors and publishers of textbooks have themselves responded to past criticisms and as a result there are now a number of history and social studies textbooks which are distinguished for their handling of unions and collective bargaining.

One of the important functions of this conference is to familiarize participants with some of the best of the materials which are now available. In sponsoring this conference, the AFL-CIO Education Department is in no position to endorse any particular books, but by bringing the available material together we are giving you a chance to look at it, and we think that you will be pleasantly surprised by some of what you see.

There is another matter which bears upon the concerns of this conference and this is the present emphasis upon career education. As we have indicated on many previous occasions, career education provides new opportunities and it also presents us with serious pitfalls. Our function is to take advantage of the opportunities which we welcome. Certainly, collective bargaining is one of the important realities of the world of work and learning about it should be an essential component of preparing students for their future careers.

It seems all but inevitable that the growth of career education will result in increased attention to unions and collective bargaining in the curriculum. I suspect that Edna McGuire's Story of American Freedom is a remnant of a past era. Future textbook writers are not likely to give equal space to organized labor and Mary Poppins.

But, here again, there are opportunities and there are dangers. The danger is quite simply that in the Office of Education and in HEW's new parallel division, the National Institute of Education, those responsible for career education are too often people who are neither sympathetic to, nor knowledgeable about, the system of labor-management relations which we have developed in the United States.

Recently, I reviewed a draft copy of the National Institute of Education plan for future research and development in the field of career education. It is an atrocious document. I find nothing in the plan which treats unions as a constructive, creative resource in career education. References to unions invariably treat them as "the enemy," a perverse obstacle to be overcome.

This hostility toward organized labor is the more appalling in that the authors of the plan seem to lack any understanding of the problems which they set forth to correct. I am rather astonished, for example, to read on page 63 that "some groups of people -- particularly those in rural agricultural areas -- do not understand fully the idea of labor as a market commodity."

Evidently, the author of this atrocity has never heard of the Clayton Act which in 1914 established as a matter of national policy that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." As a matter of fact, throughout the document the writers seem to assume that labor is in fact a commodity. In this regard it is they, rather than the citizens of rural agricultural areas, who do not understand that they are talking about.

Throughout the plan there seems to be an assumption that career education will work best in a labor market having minimal restraints on job competition. This is tantamount to saying that effective career education requires an economy in which workers bid down one another's wages as they did in the sweatshop era. It is stated that "minimum wage laws, union contracts, or social pressures may operate at levels higher than would prevail in a free market." It is further stated that "these constraints are the potential targets of career education activities." Does any one seriously expect to enlist organized labor as an ally in a career education program which regards union contracts as a potential target?

I raise these matters because if such views as these are reflected in career education curriculum materials, career education could prove to be a giant step backwards in teaching about labor.

This conference is not for recrimination or for self-congratulations. It is being held in the hope that it will be a productive contribution toward the development of more realistic teaching about the place of collective bargaining in American society. We are not interested in brainwashing students or in censoring textbooks. We are concerned that students understand the nature of the collective bargaining process in which some of them will one day participate as union members and some of them as part of management.

The work of this conference is to put together the promising elements of the growing interest of educators, the concern of organized labor, and the very usable teaching materials which have begun to appear. Out of these, hopefully, participants will return home with specific and realistic plans which can be implemented in the schools. A large part of the initiative will need to come from AFL-CIO central bodies, many of which are represented at this conference. Working together with school boards, school administrators, and teachers they can do much to bring about a meaningful approach in the school curriculum to working people, their aspirations, their unions, and their system of collective bargaining. An idea brought by one AFL-CIO member to a convention will then have become a reality in the classrooms of America.

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IV

LABOR AND ECONOMIC EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Today, the lack of a basic understanding about economic matters among the vast majority of the work force stands above all. Young workers are clearly disadvantaged by their lack of exposure to a fair and balanced learning experience on the role of unions in our society. Indeed, the economic literacy level of the average American is far too low for a nation which enjoys the prestige of world leadership.

An examination of this problem was thought by the program planners as paramount to the objectives of the conference. Two of the nation's most highly respected economists who are actively engaged in efforts to make constructive, affirmative strides toward alleviating the problem were invited to share their views with the delegates: Mr. Nat Goldfinger, AFL-CIO Director of the Department of Research and chief economist for the Federation; and Dr. Moe Frankel, President of the Joint Council on Economic Education.

LABOR AND ECONOMIC EDUCATION

Address by Nat Goldfinger, Director, AFL-CIO
Research Department

The trade union movement has a vital interest and direct concern with economic education -- the education of students in the various levels of the school system, as well as adult members of the work force, about the operations of the economy, its problems and policy alternatives.

Economics deals with the way in which the community or the nation utilizes human and material resources for the production and distribution of goods and services to meet the needs and desires of the population. It deals not only with the production of the pie and its expansion over a period of time, but very importantly with the distribution of pie, as well -- who gets what share of the pie and how does that distribution work.

Basically, therefore, economics remains what it once was officially called -- political economy -- despite the present distorted emphasis on abstract mathematical models. The teaching of economics, as a result, must include considerable attention to institutions -- trade unions and collective bargaining, as well as business firms, banks and government agencies. It must include, too, a direc facing up to controversial issues that involve different economic and social interests, as well as differing viewpoints, ethical and social objectives.

Simple reliance on inherited wisdom, cliches and myths are no longer adequate -- if they ever were adequate in the past. Ours is a time of vast, swift and even accelerating change -- in technology, for example, in urban growth, in race relations, and in international economic relations.

As a free institution, which is a product of democratic rights, organized labor is wedded to the conviction that the complex adjustments and solutions to these vast, rapid changes can and must be developed within the framework of a free society. As a result, organized labor, which began the fight for a free public school system in the 1820's, is vitally concerned with the quality, as well as the quantity of economic education.

The quantity of economic education has been slowly improving. An increased number and percentage of students in our school systems are being reached by economics courses or, for many students, by some degree of economics content in social studies courses. However, the numbers and percentages of students, who take economics courses in the school systems, are still quite small, and the economics content of social studies courses is also small. And, despite the efforts that have been made, the quality of economic education is usually poor, particularly in light of the pressing needs of the time in which we live.

Will Scoggins' report on the treatment of the world of work in the Los Angeles county high schools, about a decade ago, pointed to a major problem--the biased nature of so many of the textbooks. Scoggins reported:

"Strikes are usually portrayed as exceedingly violent and accomplishing nothing. Unions, as political activists and instigators of social-economic legislation, are adequately described by only two of the eighteen U.S. history textbooks and by only one-third of the government and problems books... Collective bargaining, which has established a system of industrial jurisprudence in most of American industry, whether organized by a union or not, is ignored by well over half of all books...

'If this study were to end with the perusal of textbooks, the question of what is being taught to prospective employees of America about labor and the economy would have to receive a rather unsatisfactory answer. The answer would be unsatisfactory not so much because of a lack of information, but because of what is included in the textbook so often invites, encourages, and even demands an anti-labor position from the reader."

("Labor in Learning: Public School Treatment of the World of Work," page 55)

Such textbook treatment of trade unions, collective bargaining and the world of work has probably improved very little, if at all, since Scoggins presented his report. It is usually absent entirely or utterly biased.

The textbook treatment of many key economic and social issues is also often rooted in prejudice, mythology and inherited wisdom. This is, or should be, of major importance to organized labor because the basic framework is often presented in a way that is hostile to trade unions, collective bargaining and social legislation.

The usual textbook basic assumption about the American economy is a model of freely competitive small enterprises, typical of the period prior to the Civil War. Moreover, the textbooks, in many cases, simply accept the decisions of business management -- on such issues as investment, industry location or returns on investment -- as given, and anything different is presented as an interference with or challenge to the competitive model, which is, in the real world, a myth. And this mythology includes the anti-worker falsehood that the worker's wage is the dollar value of his marginal productivity, whatever that is -- the mythology that is widely used by many so-called liberal economists, as well as conservatives, to oppose or call into question minimum wage legislation, as well as trade union bargaining on wages and most social legislation.

To offset such factors, a tremendous burden of responsibility for fairness and balance is placed on the teacher, because of the gaps, ignorance or sheer bias of the textbooks. And the burden is also placed on all of us to improve the quality of the textbooks, themselves.

As far as I know, the only significant national force for the promotion of economic education and improvement of its quality is the Joint Council on Economic Education, which was founded in 1948.

A key factor in the JCEE is that it is a joint council -- with representation of business, labor and agricultural organizations, as well as educators. And a related key factor is that the educators -- and not the interest groups -- have the responsibility for directing the program.

The JCEE has aroused interest in economic education among educators, school administrators and groups in the community. It sponsors workshops on economic education. It has helped considerably to curb the innundation of our school systems with propaganda, indiscriminately presented as fact or as authoritative views, although, it frankly must be given only a mediocre or even poor grade in directly working for fairness and balance by combatting the subtle anti-labor materials and prejudiced mythology that abound in economics textbooks.

The Joint Council also prepares and recommends materials, although not all of these materials are examples of fairness. It encourages teachers to use materials of the interest groups, such as labor organizations. It helps to educate teachers in economics and to improve economics training requirements for teachers.

LABOR AND THE JOINT COUNCIL ON ECONOMIC EDUCATION

Excerpts from address by Dr. Moe Frankel
President, JCEE

It's really a pleasure to be here to talk to a group such as this, representing not only those from labor, but those from many other sectors of our life as well. It is true that we are in a period where there is a great deal of concern for the lack of understanding of economics. This past year, somebody must have set off an explosion, because I'll bet that my waking hours, at least 50 percent of them, have been spent in meeting with labor groups, with business groups, with agricultural groups, with those from the newspapers and educational groups concerned about the lack of economic education that exists in the country.

Many of these groups have recently developed programs. They also were innundated by others that had programs to sell. And after much deliberation, with great humility I can say, that almost 100 percent of these organizations wound up at the doorstep of the Joint Council on decisions that were made after complete evaluations, because they realized that no unilateral organization could ever expect to accomplish anything in economic education with our schools. Sure, we see a great deal in advertisements, in flyers, in exhortation, but these are not important when it comes to education. They can only do good for those already in church. And the numbers in church and economic education or economic understanding, as Nat Goldfinger has so well said, are few. The average American is the target of the Joint Council. We know that leaders from all the sectors of the economy are frustrated. And why shouldn't they be because of the way things have gone. They are looking around. What action should they as organizations or companies or labor unions take in reference to economic education?

Too often, many of them do seek short-term solutions for problems. Problems that require long-term continuity. It requires a constant effort directed at the youth of the nation and not with those who offer panaceas with crash programs at high cost. Those of us who were weaned and brought up on the American educational system and are still working in it know only too well that crash programs never succeed and are a complete waste of money.

Someone said that there is a need to enlist spokesmen whose support of the private enterprise system would not be dismissed as self-serving. We believe that the Joint Council is just that kind of organization. It has achieved the creditability for working with the schools. I merely mention to you that there is hardly a professional organization of educators concerned in any way with economics or curriculum that is not formerly affiliated with the Joint Council on Economic Education. And as far as our list of cooperators are concerned, they represent every organization that is anything in the U.S. in the field of economics.

And so, over the years we have built this creditability. We are proud of it, we guard it carefully, and we will not let anyone encroach upon it.

Again, let me say, that education as far as we are concerned, is the only hope for economic literacy. Economic understanding and capacity for economic reasoning do not come lightly. It's not something that can be achieved by a half hour presentation with a flip chart. It is not something that can be achieved by a simple film strip, or by a movie, or by a piece of material. It is hard work and work that requires some concern on the part of the teaching profession. And because of that, we have directed our resources and our program completely to those in education. We have provided a basis for interaction and a basis for the development of rational, critical, analytical thinking.

The program does provide continuity. It provides follow-up, hard evaluation and adaption to change. One of its basic tenets is cooperation with those in the community. You might ask the question -- Why has the Joint Council achieved the position that it has?

I would like to give you what I think are about 5 reasons and see whether you would agree with them.

One - We have insisted throughout the nation that leadership in this program represent the entire community, business, labor, agriculture, research, government as well as educators.

Secondly - We have insisted that in all programs, educational leadership be guaranteed in concert with the community.

Thirdly - The philosophy of the program is the only one that we see that can work with the schools. A philosophy that is objective, non-partisan, non-political, academically free and academically responsible. A program that puts its faith in analysis and critical thinking. A program that believes it must start in the kindergarten and go right on through formal education. A program that puts a high priority on working directly with the teachers because we believe the teacher to be the focal point in economic education.

Fourth - Our belief in our efforts to institutionalize the program, to give it permanency, and provide the multiplier so necessary.

And fifth - The diffusion strategy that we have worked out to provide a delivery system that covers all of the United States.

Now, where does labor stand in this kind of an organization? On the Joint Council board we have 8 representatives from labor, two of which serve as members of the executive committee. We have in the United States today, 46 state councils on economic education. And, in every instance, labor plays a big role in the activities of those state councils. There also are 92 centers on economic education located on collegiate campuses, and here again, in all programs that they sponsor, you will find labor represented.

Turning then to the program that the Joint Council presently has under way, let me comment on the following items. Last year, in the United States, recognizing that most teachers had little or no background in economics, the councils throughout the United States developed programs for over 12,000 teachers to give them what would be the equivalent of a one semester course

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in economics, only done in our fashion not in the classroom fashion. And, I might say, that in every one of those programs, labor has its just part.

In addition to these teachers, who are working in the program on their own, we have sponsored, and we are sponsoring at the present time, a fellowship program for elementary school teachers. It's now going into its third year. There are 500 teachers involved and we are developing leadership on the part of crackerjack elementary teachers so that they may play the role of consultants to school systems in their area. At the present time, in our cooperating schools program, there are roughly 200 school systems involving over 8 million students.

We have experimented with that program. We know that we have a model that works. We have a variety of approaches, and have developed in addition to that, a systems approach to curriculum change. We know that we have done a fairly good job in setting curriculum guidelines in the social studies. But, we also realized that that is not the only place in the school curriculum where economics can be taught. And so, we are now finishing up with a program on where economics fits into the business education curriculum. Pretty soon, we will have publications for the teacher that will almost take the teacher by the hand and lead him through, so that he may, or she may, find the opportunities to develop some economic thinking and economic understanding.

We have developed also a career education program, known as WOWEE, the World of Work Economic Education. This is considerably different than most approaches to career education because our concern is not a descriptive approach. Our concern is -- what economics do you have to know to even think about a possible career? What careers are going to be available to you 10 years from now, and, what kind of education are these careers going to demand?

We were very fortunate in developing this program to have the good advice of the office in Washington of the AFL-CIO, and particularly of Nat Goldfinger. We have the package. It currently is being taught in many school systems around the country and we are embarked on a dissemination program that is of a two year duration. Then again, we have another program, because of the interest in consumer education. But here again, we said to ourselves -- what is there that should be important to a youngster to know about his own personal decision making? And so we have produced a series of basic guides for the teacher in the economics of personal decision making. So, there is one for social studies, one for home economics, one for business education or the separate course in consumer economics, all with an evaluation instrument to go along.

We are embarking this fall on another innovation. I was delighted to hear Nat Goldfinger say that we're finally coming back to a study of the political economy, because the Joint Council is definitely moving in that direction. We have a small grant to test how we can best bring together the disciplines of political science and economics for that lonely teacher in the classroom. Those of you who are in the teaching profession know that when you went to college and you took your preparation work, you went through this kind of an experience. You walked into your classes and each class was completely segmentized. It was either economics, political science, or mathematics. And nowhere on the campus did anyone, even in the schools of education, attempt to bring together this knowledge in an integrated fashion. That was bad because the day you were hired for your work, especially at the secondary school level, you were expected to produce an integrated program in the social sciences.

And, so, to overcome that deficiency, we are going to test out some areas where we can bring together economics and political science for the teacher at the secondary school level in the hopes of making a contribution.

At the collegiate level, we are also working very diligently. You probably are familiar with an evaluation instrument that we produced for the introductory courses in economics. This created a sensation in the discipline. We have had the backing of the American Economic Association and it slowly but surely is forcing the professor to ask himself the question -- Is anybody in my class listening? In response to that, we are now finishing up a four-year experiment in redeveloping the introductory courses in economics. Here we are working with eight collegiate institutions around the U.S. in producing syllabi, each one using a different approach. Our hope is for each one to develop a much greater interest in economics on the part of the undergraduate.

We haven't forgotten the community college. That is really an area that is a morass in economics. How many of you can picture taking a college course in economics where 34 percent of your teachers do not even have an undergraduate major in economics. Now that's what you have at the junior colleges. And, that's the problem that we are concerned with. For the kind of audience they have, Samuelson, Bok, McConnell, you name them, are worthless. And so we are embarked on a three-year program in developing the syllabi that will be useful for the junior colleges throughout the nation.

We also have a question bank established for professors of economics, of questions that have been validated, verified and standardized. We have done a great deal toward encouraging research in economic education and today we have a file of over 1400 pieces of research that have been completed in economic education. A journal on economic education has been established for those at the collegiate level concerned with improving the teaching of economics, and this journal has flourished and it is being published on a twice a year basis by the Joint Council.

Also of interest I think to a group like this, is the materials development program of the Joint Council. Last year, we produced over 20 different items, a set of slides, over 16 film strips and cassettes. All of these designed not necessarily for the student, but mainly for the teacher. We have always taken the position in the Joint Council, that we should create the market for economic materials and then it was up to the publishers in the private enterprise system to fill the void, and we would concern ourselves mainly with the teachers.

And, so, we do have teachers guides, we have bibliographies, we have evaluation instruments. We have all sorts of things that would be valuable to a person sincerely concerned with revising the teaching procedures to get more economics into the curriculum.

As far as evaluations are concerned, we just recently completed an evaluation of social studies textbooks, grades one through twelve, and examined them in terms of their economic content as well as for the omissions in economics when the opportunities were there to do something.

Where do we stand in some of our publications with labor? Let me just

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tell you about a few things. Presently, we are producing a piece of supplementary reading for the senior level in the high schools on the role of labor in the American economy. And this is being done by Ray Marshall, labor economist at the University of Texas. It will have a film strip. In addition, we have just recently produced a guide to the American History course, and that guide certainly does not omit the role that labor has played in the American history sequence.

I mentioned to you the ninth grade material for career education. I also will call your attention to the bibliographies that we produce which contain a great deal of material that is applicable to labor. Recently, we produced 8 film strips for the elementary school, grades 4-6, and one of those film strips, in the series entitled "Economics In Our World" is on labor unions, where a look is taken at labor from the early days of our country up to the present, the men who have organized into groups to win better wages and better working conditions.

Let me say that the impetus for change must come from within the schools. No program that is imposed by any outside group will ever succeed. And I think it's to labor's credit that they have never attempted, to my knowledge, to impose a program on the schools.

In addition, the decisions on the materials to be used in the schools must be made by those who are to use those materials. It cannot be made by outside ad hoc groups. That's the only way it will work.

Next, the approach must, of necessity, be evolutionary and not revolutionary. Because when you're changing the curriculum, it's a very tough job. It has often been said that trying to change the curriculum of the American schools is like digging a grave with a toothpick. And believe me, if you've ever worked in education, that is the truth. And so you've got to start from where the teacher is and step by step take them by the hand and lead them. They are not open to revolutionary practices.

And, finally, as an axiom, a unilaterial approach by any group in the American society in attempting to work with our schools can only result in failure.

Let me say then, in conclusion, that we have developed a product. We have test marketed that product by experimentation, by evaluation and revision. We have disseminated that product nationally, and we have a delivery system of 46 state councils and presently 92 centers on economic education. And, we have the trained leadership.

One final question -- What kind of clout are you exerting with the state legislators? Are you taking a good look at the outmoded certification credentials that presently are on the books, and are you attempting to do anything about it? What about the requirements in social studies that most every state seems to have? Are you certain that economics will get it's just deserts? And finally, the councils do need your help personally. They need the help of your organizations, both personally and financially, and the input that you have is a tremendous one to make.

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V

THE NEW YORK EXPERIENCE

INTRODUCTION

Following a lively discussion of the curriculum design and content of the nation's public schools in connection with economic education, the delegates began to examine three specific examples of labor activity viz-a-viz developing materials useful to teachers in levels K through 12.

These activities involved the school systems in New York City, Buffalo, New York and

Presenting the material to the conference were:

--Mr. Albert Shanker, President of the United Federation of Teachers, New York, New York, and Mr. Carl Golden, Brooklyn School Teacher;

--Mr. Irving Sloan, Scarsdale High School, Scarsdale, New York;

--Mr. George Wessel, President, Buffalo AFL-CIO Council and Mr. Samuel Sackman, Commissioner of the Mediation and Conciliation Service in Buffalo, New York.

EXCERPTS FROM THE REMARKS OF MR. ALBERT SHANKER

(Mr. Shanker is President of the United Federation of Teachers, Local #2, New York, and a Vice President of the AFL-CIO)

I would like to deal with the question of textbooks, labor materials, how labor is treated in the schools and so forth.

Periodically, in New York City, labor editors and some local union officials would get together and their major concern was the fact that there was a high distribution of free materials to schools and that practically all of those materials were produced by large corporations. Some of the materials were divorced from the particular interests of those companies. It just might be a particular company sending out pictures of what life was like in the Middle Ages -- and doing it as a service -- with a little line at the bottom that you should remember the following company for having taught you about the Middle Ages or something like that. But not all of it was free of some sort of message. A good many of the materials that were sent to the schools did indeed have a message and it was the corporation's message on political, economic or social issues which came through, one way or another.

Our concern was very much about two things: we were concerned whether those materials were one-sided, and some of them were; secondly, we felt that there should be some assurance that those materials circulated in the schools offer other points-of-view as well so that the student would not be subject to propaganda but rather would be faced with a series of conflicting perspectives and points-of-view. Taken together, all of these materials could become part of an education process.

Now, through the 1960's, Harry Van Arsdale, President of our Central Labor Council, kept asking me whether I would serve as chairman of the Education Committee. I said yes. Then, we went through a few years of strikes and turmoil in our own union, so the Education Committee seldom met. He kept calling up every month or so pointing out that there was an awful lot to be done in this particular field and as soon as the strike was over or the contract was negotiated we ought to begin to work on it.

Finally, that did happen and we have done a number of things and it is these things I want to get to in a little while.

A number of things ought to concern us if we take a look at this entire picture of labor, the schools, and the curriculum. I will go beyond that. I think you have to relate what happens in textbooks to

what happens in the curriculum. We also have to look at the biggest educators in our society. They are: newspapers, television and radio.

This summer I was at an international conference in Nairobi and I was discussing with the head of the teachers union in London the problems that we are encountering in the U. S. in terms of bringing about a merger of teacher organizations here. We made a list of the various differences of the organizations involved. At one point the head of the British organization said: "Well, you've got one problem that unions all across the world don't have." I said, "What's that?" He said, "The U. S. is the only country in the entire free world where the labor movement does not have a popular, positive image in the mind of the average citizen." Now, I think that's one thing we ought to think about. If you go to England, or if you go to Germany, or to Australia, Canada and other places -- it doesn't mean that the man in the street agrees with the labor movement on everything -- but basically, when you go through the equivalent of Gallup Polls in those countries and then in the U. S., you get a very different point-of-view about unions from the man on the street, and also in terms of what the labor movement is like and what it is doing.

Now, I would like to jump to another point and I think this will get put together in a few minutes when we talk about what it is we are doing on this question.

There has been an invisibility of labor unions in the curriculum and textbooks, by and large, and a negative image presented in many cases by the media. In addition, we also had an attitude about the unions themselves, in terms of their not caring. In the last couple of years, while going around and talking to many union leaders, the attitude is, "We're in the kind of work that never is going to be popular. We don't really care very much what other people think about us. If our own members like what we are doing, if we negotiate a good contract, can get re-elected, and have the confidence of our own members, that's fine."

Now I suppose, to a very large extent, that point-of-view on the part of union leadership may not have been far from wrong throughout many of the years of labor's history. I would suggest, however, that if one looks at what has happened in the last ten years one finds that the labor movement is more and more finding that the bargaining process itself is relatively frustrating, that you work very, very hard to negotiate a package and then you find that what comes across the bargaining table is taken away in a number of ways. It's destroyed by national policy, which brings about increased unemployment. It's destroyed by laws, which deprive many workers the right to organize. There are threats to the continued freedom to strike. There isn't much point in negotiating all sorts of things when some of them can only be provided by some sort of a national plan, such as the problem of providing decent medical care.

What I am saying is that more and more labor is turning to the political process (whether it be at the local, state, or the national level) to bring to its members, and because it's being done through a political process, not only its members, but everybody in society, certain benefits which just cannot appropriately be brought about through collective bargaining. Now because labor is engaging in the political process more and more, we are concerned about what the average citizen thinks of unions and whether they have knowledge of those unions and how they operate. This has an affect on the ability of the labor movement to win friends and allies in the struggle to bring about a decent minimum wage or to support various programs to end poverty, or to bring about national health insurance and other things. It doesn't make much difference what the fellow in the street thinks about you when you're at the bargaining table with management's negotiating committee. But it does make a difference when you are going down to Washington to try to convince an entire Congress and the President. In regard to the latter, what other people think of you does make a difference in whether they join you in a particular struggle to bring about certain objectives or not.

So, in connection with that attitude on the part of many unions, part of our educational job is with our own union membership and our own union leadership in terms of bringing about an understanding that what other people think matters more and more in terms of what it is that we are about.

Now another thing that ought to be mentioned here is the absence of interest of labor in the school curriculum and the shoddy, rather shallow, type of crisis reporting which exists in the mass media. Something like a strike that disrupts is about the only thing that will get reported. This means that millions of workers are entering the world of work without having any sort of understanding of one of the basic processes that they are going to get involved in. They are going to enter the factory on the first day of the job and are going to find somehow that automatically they are a member of some union's security provision. They will have no knowledge that they have a right to participate, a right to vote, that there is a structure of meetings developing bargaining items. No knowledge whatsoever.

I want to raise another issue that perhaps is broader than the others. I think that maybe the best way to introduce this is to relate an experience that I had with the teachers in our local in New York City not long ago.

Eight years ago there was a mayoral election in New York City, Linsday vs. Beam. On New Year's Eve a man by the name of Michael J. Quill, who was the head of the Transport Workers' Union, called a subway strike in New York City and the subways were shut down for a couple of weeks. Now what happened was that on the second day of that strike a number of union leaders in New York City received a telegram saying that the

Transport Workers are going to have a giant rally down at city hall and it will be very nice if other unions came down with some sort of a banner to show that there is support of the labor movement for the strike. Now, teachers were working that day, so only a few of us were at the union office. I, and some others, went down to city hall and we marched around once or twice with our banner along with other union leaders. The next day in my office I had the biggest stack of mail that I've ever received from our own membership on any single issue. The members wanted to know who gave me the right to support the Transport Workers. Many of them, in their letters, said that Quill should be immediately thrown into jail. A few said that he should be electricuted or hung. The World Telegram-Sun, which was still in business at that time, had printed letters from students that were written in social studies classes, also suggesting ways in which Quill could be executed.

There were no questions raised as to whether that was the right thing to do or not, it was just sort of a contest on the appropriate way to do it.

Now, why do I raise this? I raise this because we have in the United States a public policy with respect to a number of things. We hope that we are educating the students in our schools so that they value some of the basic freedoms in our society. We hope that they understand about the guaranteed freedoms in our Bill of Rights. We hope that we are educating them in such a way that they understand that freedom of speech means the right of somebody to disagree with you -- not the right of somebody to agree with you, but the right of someone to hold very unpopular opinions -- and we hope that throughout our educational process that that is one of the things that becomes a very deep part of each and every one of the students. We hope the same is true with respect to other rights.

But, there is no question that one of the very basic, very precious, rights in our society is the right to strike. Why? Well, we've been through it many times, but basically it's a collective bargaining right to strike -- it is the best of a number of evil alternatives. It's evil to have workers working under conditions that are unilaterally imposed by employers. Then you get exploitation. It's evil to have a third party come in and tell both labor and management what to do. Neither of them wants it. Try to think of what life would be like if nobody had yet proposed that the workers themselves should have a say in determining their salaries and working conditions.

So the only alternative, and it's a messy alternative, is to allow for a struggle to take place and then at the end of that struggle there's an agreement that both sides can live with. This is an extremely important part of the public policy of this nation. We don't want exploitation, we don't want dictatorship, we don't want a third party telling both management and labor what to do. If you accept all those points, then you know there is no other way to do it. And so we value

this as an important part of the American way of life, an important freedom that both management and labor have, which is the freedom to accept things by agreement, not to have them shoved down their throats by someone else.

But yet we do practically nothing within our schools to convince people that this is an important right that must be protected in the same way that we fight to protect freedom of speech, religion, or the press. So much so, that when the Gallup or Harris Polls are taken each year you find that a majority, not only a majority of people, but a majority of union members, favor curbing the right to strike and favor some sort of compulsory arbitration court.

The overwhelming majority of union teachers in the city of New York thought that when some other union inconvenienced them that something ought to be done to punish that organization. Now, if we value the right of both management and labor to continue having this freedom, the freedom to enter into agreements or to refrain from doing that, then it seems to me that we've got to do a job in educating the public to understand that if they believe in this freedom they have to accept a certain amount of inconvenience. The same as you've convinced students that they must accept the inconvenience of listening to outrageous points-of-view that are held by other people. They've got to accept the view that newspapers are going to have the right to have the wrong point-of-view. They have it consistently. But that's part of freedom of the press.

I spoke about the press. I want to spend just a minute or two on this because I think there is a pattern in terms of how the press and all the mass media handles this whole question of education in the field of labor relations. To them, practically all strikes, unions, and all labor relations are somehow considered terrible and evil. The only time there is any sympathy is when you've got a very small struggling union that is unorganized and disorganized. You get a kind of sympathy for an organization of that type. So, when the hospital workers in New York City were unorganized, there was this great outpouring of sympathy, but right after they got their first contract the media started ripping into them as being part of the group that contributes to the inflationary trend.

Cesar Chavez is doing very well right now, in terms of public relations, but as soon as he succeeds in organizing the union, his image is going to change and people are going to think that he is just a labor boss. Right after they get their first contract, the grape pickers will be part of the establishment and they'll have to worry about that.

So, obviously, the media pattern has a kind of radical chic approach that labor relations is treated in terms of only the struggle of the unorganized and as soon as the initial organizing is done, it ceases to have any significance.

Now, the central labor council in New York City has an education committee. We encourage all affiliated locals to appoint and send one member to a monthly meeting. Meetings take place the same day as our monthly luncheon and we try to encourage the same people to come back. One of the things that we've found is that New York City, which has 900 separate schools offering literally thousands of elective courses in almost anything you could think of, up until last year had never had a single course devoted to labor.

There wasn't a school giving one course for the students where prominent labor leaders in the New York City area had the opportunity to make a presentation and answer questions and talk about the problems of their particular unions. In addition to that, we found out about all sorts of public service things that unions did, but the only time they could break into print was during a strike.

So, those of you who followed the New York Times saw full-page ads on union-sponsored scholarships. Now we have a booklet published by the Labor Council providing information about scholarships.

This year, we also sponsored a course on labor and international affairs. Most people have very little knowledge, and I'm sure that no where in any high school in this country is there any knowledge of the major portion of the budget the National AFL-CIO spent since its inception, toward helping workers in other countries who have not yet developed organizations as we have them in England and Canada and the United States. Our mission in Latin America, Africa and Asia is to help workers from unions and teach them some of the arts of collective bargaining.

When I was in Nairobi this summer, I found that the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has an institute there helping to set up a clothing industry. The Printers are over there helping to develop a program in the university for a printing center in Africa. That is only part of what American labor is doing, and if you look at the national budget of the AFL-CIO, a very significant amount is to help workers in other countries.

Now, with respect to our teacher membership. We subscribe to all the AFL-CIO publications, the FEDERATIONIST, and the AFL-CIO NEWS, not just for the president, vice president, and the secretary, but our 900 building representatives get these publications because we feel that one of the main jobs is to do an educational job with our own members. So that material goes out to them.

There is also a relationship with a number of the career education programs. We found that many of these programs were developing. No one from any union was invited to participate in them. Essentially, what many of these programs involve for the elementary and junior high school

grades were sort of two-way programs. There were visits by teachers, students and parents to various companies to see what work was going on in the company and then there might be a film or a speaker coming from the company to the school. And again labor had absolutely no involvement in this. One of the largest programs had maybe 50 companies involved. Thousands of students were involved and throughout this whole thing, there was no mention that any of the companies' employees had a union engaged in collective bargaining. But, there was no visit by any union official. There was no visit to the headquarters of the union.

Now, I am pleased to report this has been changed. In addition, we have produced several lesson plans for classroom teachers on strikes that were currently taking place and we have that material available for distribution. One of them is on earlier grape strikes, a few years ago, trying to explain the plight of the grape worker. It was distributed to thousands of teachers in New York City. It was also made available on a national basis, by the AFT. Another dealt with the GE strike which took place a couple of years ago. Now in all the years that companies have put materials into schools nobody said a word. But when the United Federation of Teachers in New York City put out a lesson plan on the GE strike, you should have heard the outrage. Incidentally, we got all the material from the GE company as to why their way of negotiating is right and why they can't give an increase and so forth. The entire company's side was presented in our material. As a matter of fact, there were even role-playing activities in which students were asked to imagine they were the public relations person for the GE company. They were charged to develop a program to explain to the community why the company was right.

As soon as that appeared we received a huge flood of editorials from all across the country, ranging from the New York Times to one that I received from Seattle. All across the country editorials said that when the Teachers' Union prepares lesson plans on a strike and gives them to teachers to use in a classroom, it constitutes indoctrination, and should not be permitted.

Not a single one of those newspapers ever asked for a copy of, nor did any ever evaluate, the lesson plan. The mere fact that unionized teachers have prepared something dealing with a controversial labor relations subject, automatically drew the conclusion that it must be propaganda.

Now, I'm not saying that we should be the ones who should turn out such material. I would hope that some enterprising publisher, when there is something going on like the struggle Cesar Chavez is engaged in at the present time, would publish a booklet which would present the issues. I mean the issues as presented by the growers and Chavez so students know what the problems are. I have enough faith and confidence that when all the facts are put forth, students and teachers and everybody else will come to the right conclusion in that situation.

You don't have to drown out a particular point of view or anything like that. But here is a struggle that's been going on for many years. All attempts to organize the agricultural workers in this country and in the attempt to get federal legislation, is something which is one of the basic struggles taking place in our country today, involving millions. Yet, any student or teacher who wants to do a good job in teaching this has to take many hours to go to a library and do all sorts of ritual research because no enterprising group has gotten together the picture that the teacher would need. There are the graphs that are needed to interpret things, materials at the third, fifth, ninth or tenth grade level, or different types of vocabularies with questions. In other words, packaging the materials in such a way that the teacher doesn't have to go out and do all the work himself or herself.

Teachers are teaching, let's say, 25 different lessons a week and it is impossible for a teacher to go out and do separate work for each one of those lessons. If the teacher does individual research for two of those lessons a week, it takes an awful lot of time and most of the rest of what the teacher does has to be based on previous preparation that the teacher has done at previous times. And, therefore, if this kind of material is not available it just isn't going to be taught.

Now the big project. All of these things I think have had some importance and we are going to continue doing them. But the big project is one that the Committee undertook, and since the project was one that a committee can't properly do, some expert had to do it. The Committee employed Carl Golden to do several things. One of the things that Carl did was to produce a brief critique of the labor studies curriculum in New York City at every grade level, which is available for distribution. If it's that bad in New York City, I assure you it's worse in your community. He goes through it grade-by-grade and really shows that there's nothing there until you get to economics where one out of eight topics does have something dealing with labor but that's it. So, Carl set to work and now has a manuscript.

Essentially, what Carl has done is to show how labor can be put into the curriculum that already exists at every level. We're not turning around to teachers and saying, "now look, in first grade we want you to give a course on the labor movement." That's silly. No teacher in the first grade is going to give a course on the labor movement and neither is a teacher in the ninth grade. But the teacher in the first grade is already talking to the children about who the workers are they see around them. They talk about the policemen, the firemen, and the teachers, and the bricklayers, and it's fine to put the charts on the board and to spell and ask what they do. But, if in each grade you just take a look at what's already there, you can see that if only the teacher is helped to go one step further, it is possible for that teacher to enrich his or her own teaching. Teachers can provide, throughout the years of schooling, a continuing education about workers and what their contribution to our society is through the organized labor movement.

And so at this point, I would like to present to you Carl Golden who will describe the work that he has done and is doing. Work which we hope will soon be available.

EXCERPTS OF THE REMARKS OF MR. CARL GOLDEN

(Mr. Golden is a high school teacher at Berkeley High School in New York)

I had the privilege this spring of teaching a course on labor, the one to which Al alluded, to high school students in Brooklyn. Why Brooklyn? I don't know what you know about it, but it is a pretty sophisticated place, it's a pretty good labor town and when you offer an elective course to students you get some pretty hip kids. We got about twenty students from the marrow of Brooklyn. Probably, I would say, in the upper 10 per cent of their class, verbally gifted, from every section of Brooklyn, every racial and ethnic background, and they came together for a series of talks with labor leaders (we got a nice cross-section) to discuss their thoughts in terms of understanding labor's role in our society. I can't bring out to you the pitiful ignorance and bias of those kids at the first and second sessions of the meeting. If you asked them how a labor leader got to be a labor leader, there was absolutely no understanding. If you asked them, besides the strike, what is the function of a labor union, the comprehension was pitiful, absolutely pitiful. There was absolutely no recognition of what labor did in its broadest aspects. And meeting labor union leaders, you couldn't imagine the kind of visual images they conjured up prior to these talks.

What I am trying to bring out is if there is ignorance of economics in the country, the American ignorance of the meaning and significance of the labor union is incomprehensible. With this as background I would like to tell you some of the things that we have been doing in an attempt to meet this challenge.

We began with the idea in the Education Committee of the Central Labor Council that we have to look at the whole picture. If your going to talk about labor, you've got to talk beyond the point of strike. You've got to think of a full comprehension as to what labor does and what labor means. If this is so, then we begin taking what existed in New York City and creating a curriculum input in every single grade. I don't want to describe it because New York City has a very peculiar curriculum, especially in social studies. It's a concept-oriented, spiral presentation in which you take certain key concepts and develop them from K to 12th grade. What we did was to develop concepts about labor, take those concepts and at every level, define specifically what should be the teacher's outcome for that particular grade when they are talking about labor.

Let me just briefly read to you a few of the concepts to give you some idea how we are attempting to broaden the understanding of labor and labor's role. The social studies curriculum in New York City has certain economic concepts. We added these: 1) labor is a vital element in the productive process; 2) workers join unions primarily for job security and to raise their wages; 3) collective bargaining has improved the relationship between capitol and labor. We applied the conceptual approach to the study of history as well.

The second thing we did was to realize that there are really few, and pitifully inadequate, materials in the teaching of labor, especially on the high school level. And, therefore, we developed classroom materials that a teacher could use to discuss labor. Then, we took it from four separate aspects: 1) the history of labor; 2) the function of a labor union; 3) labor and politics; and 4) labor and the future. We took these four aspects for a number of reasons. One reason was that it could be put in very easily, either in American history or economics, or the whole package could be taken as a separate elective course on labor. Then we gave the teacher materials which served as an introduction and background with the factual content necessary to teach the material. In other words, we applied the inquiry method. We presented the material and then gave the teacher suggested strategies for using the material. We wanted it to be readable and to cause inter-action between the teacher and the student.

With this in mind, we developed the manuscript. We developed it with the hope also that it would be picked up and published. Our aim was to develop classroom materials to tackle the total problem in terms of what a student at every grade level should begin to perceive.

REMARKS OF MR. IRVING SLOAN

(Mr. Sloan is a high school teacher in the Scarsdale, New York school system, and author of "The American Labor Movement in Modern History and Government Textbooks")

The point must be made at the very outset of this talk that the overwhelming majority of today's young Americans expect to become employed. Only a tiny fraction, less than 1.5 percent of them begin as self-employed or proprietary workers. I am, of course, talking about those who do not attend college but instead join the labor force. And what are these young people being taught about what it means to be an employee? This question has nothing to do with the particular vocation the young person may be learning. It has to do, however, with responsibilities, regulations, problems, rights and benefits of being a wage or salary earner. It has to do also with the history and with the future of work.

Possibly the young can learn much about the economics of employment from many sources -- the press, television, the family, the church. But what are they learning about it in school? What are our schools teaching about the economics of being an employee? Clearly, the schools are interested. The Joint Council on Economic Education is interested. Businessmen and labor leaders are interested.

Businessmen, being honest and unashamed champions of self-interest, have long realized the importance of getting their point of view registered in the public schools. They have done this by occupying the chairs of the boards of educations, and by welcoming the school administrators into their service clubs and into their private and social confidence. This camaradie between business and education has been facilitated by the fact that a large number of school administrators, principals, and superintendents take most of their university and even college work in administration. In other words, the businessman and the school administrator are likely to "speak the same language."

The businessman is available to speak in high school classes, and to publish and distribute materials designed to impress students with the doctrine that, quote, "our continued progress as a people...depends upon a broad understanding of our free competitive system and its benefits for all." Business spends at least $200 million for educational materials, programs, and services. They do this because they say they want to "help teacher efficiency and to help educators and students understand the aims, accomplishments, problems, and needs of the free enterprise system, and of individual business."

Men from labor, on the other hand, have been either less concerned or less effective in making sure that an adequate understanding of the role of labor was achieved. Few representatives of labor know members of the school boards or administrators, either socially or professionally. Nor has labor

allocated a large budget to educational materials. But union leaders have expressed regret and frustration at what they believe the schools have done with labor's position. The late Phillip Murray sounded an angry note when he exploded:

> "What burns the hell out of us labor people most of all is that schools go on their merry way teaching so-called history and so-called social studies, hardly even recognizing the existence of the labor movement or labor-management relations."

Some 20 years ago, one labor director of education and research asked:

> "Is it too much to ask that the teaching of economics in schools be relevant to the lives of the students and their families? Since so large a proportion of students will be working for a livelihood, shouldn't they learn that a collective bargaining agreement establishes on-the-job rules, spells out work relationships, provides for grievance and arbitration machinery--in short, is something more than a lever for moving up wages? Shouldn't students learn something of the broader economic issues that will affect their futures?"

Certainly, the schools have felt little pressure from labor's ranks to change their approach to the teaching of social studies. I will wager that any poll of school principals concerning outside pressures would find that the pressure least frequently cited would be local labor organizations.

The question, then, is (1) how is the American Labor Movement, its history, contributions, problems, and ambitions presented in the mandated textbooks used in the social studies classroom? And, (2) are adequate space and explanations devoted to the legislation regulating labor-management relations at the present time?

The major theme of a history of labor in America is the struggle of American workers to improve conditions under which they worked and to better their society more generally. American workers have not only been members of unions -- they have also been members of the community at large, involved in a host of problems not associated directly with their working lives. These issues deserve as much attention as the bitter story of strife and violence, which too often fills the pages of labor history.

The history of labor reveals a great deal about wider American society. The treatment of early workers, such as indentured servants and redemptioners, throws light upon the primitive conditions against which our early settlers were forced to struggle. The aspirations of workers during the Jacksonian period illustrate as much about the problems of a young democracy as they do about labor itself. The struggle between the Knights of Labor and AFL reflects the varied responses of free men to the problems of an emerging industrial society. The entire history of government regulation of labor demonstrates the ways in which one interest group affects the society of which it is a part. In short, when we study the role of labor in American society, we are also involved in a study of America itself.

THE BUFFALO MODEL

Summary of remarks made by Mr. George L. Wessel, President, Buffalo Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO

Buffalo offers a unique experience in connection with their program on Labor and the Schools. They have developed a community-wide effort involving labor, management and government as represented by the Industrial Relations Research Association. The labor council serves in an advisory capacity to the program.

The program, in its fifth year, was explained by Mr. Samuel Sackman, Commissioner of the Mediation and Conciliation Service in Buffalo. A paraphrased version of his remarks follows:

The Buffalo program consists of the following:

1. A teacher training program conducted at night over a ten week period. Some 200 social studies and American History teachers are involved. Course content relates to a broad range of labor subjects including:

   - Labor History
   - Corporate Management and the Development of Labor Policy
   - Contemporary Management Problems
   - Public Policy and Labor Relations
   - Economics of the Labor Market
   - Collective Bargaining Strategies and Tactics
   - Grievance Procedures, Mediation and Arbitration
   - Labor Law

2. The point was strongly made that labor subjects must be built into the curriculum design. Teachers are too overwhelmed with everyday pressures to take any new initiatives on their own. Under a grant from Cornell University, the Buffalo group is preparing the syllabus for an eight week elective course. The Buffalo Council believes, however, that such courses must be mandatory, at least in the fields of collective bargaining and American Labor History.

3. Under the program, teams of labor specialists actually go to the schools preparing students for mock bargaining sessions. These teams are represented by labor and management people. One major objective is to make impasse inevitable so that the principles of mediation can be demonstrated.

4. Through the Local Board of Cooperative Educational Services, there is a library for films and books available to both students and teachers.

5. Regarding future development of the program, a full set of audio-visual materials is planned. Participating schools will be able to tune in on video taped programming. The labor council is raising some funds to cover the production costs of this material. It is hoped, however, that the state itself will invest in this new effort.

After a brief discussion, the session was terminated.

MAIN POINTS RAISED IN THE DISCUSSION WHICH FOLLOWED THE SESSION ON THE NEW YORK EXPERIENCE

I Participants were concerned about how local AFL-CIO central councils finance educational projects. Among the views expressed on this point were:

- private foundation assistance;
- organized teacher initiatives;
- contributions from local union affiliates;
- seed money from the central body itself.

II Various points were made regarding the improvement of labor's image in the community. Among these were:

- the improvement of education programs among union members themselves;
- unions have to do a better job in getting the facts out about their community interests. Much social progress came about through strong union pressure. We need constant exchange between unions and central bodies on successful approaches to this problem;
- good labor materials are the key. They must be developed before local teachers or local education committees approach school board officials seeking curriculum changes.

III Regarding existing materials now in use in some school systems, the following publications were noted as available through the AFL-CIO Pamphlet Division and listed in the Dow-Jones Catalog of Free Materials to Elementary and Secondary Schools:

- This is the AFL-CIO
- Why Unions
- Labor: Champion of Public Education
- Collective Bargaining: Democracy on the Job
- Equal Rights For All
- Public Investment -- America's New Frontier
- Q & A on Health Security
- Structure of the AFL-CIO
- Man & Earth: Adjusting the Balance
- AFL-CIO Keys...to Facts and Understanding

Also, in response to a question, it was noted that the AFL-CIO Department of Education does distribute material on issues related to the annual high school debate topic and it is widely used. In addition, Labor's View on Financing Education was found in popular demand among school officials.

IV A summary of the remaining points include:

A. That the approach of the civil rights movement on the treatment of minorities in textbooks should be followed by the labor movement;

B. That aside from the specific and professional interests of organized teachers, the trade union movement has a major consumer interest in the quality of and access to education in the broader context -- from preschool through the graduate school level.

C. It is of major concern to all that labor is not interested in adding further propaganda to our educational curriculum. Our concern is related to a fair portrayal of labor's contribution to our society

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VI

THE YOUNGSTOWN EXPERIENCE

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Al Shipka and Ms. Marcella Crann both served on the Planning Committee for the Conference.

As noted earlier, it was at the initiative of the Greater Youngstown Labor Council that a national effort to move toward a closer examination of labor and the schools began.

The Youngstown Experience described in the following section manifests a serious attempt to correct the imbalance of the treatment of labor in elementary and secondary school curriculum.

THE YOUNGSTOWN EXPERIENCE

Excerpts from address by Mr. Al Shipka, President
The Greater Youngstown AFL-CIO Council

Naturally, we take pride in being the council that had their resolution accepted at the last national AFL-CIO convention. But we feel it was inevitable that in the very near future because of the importance of this labor problem that eventually somebody would move in that direction. We're not quite as glamorous as the East Coast or the New York area, but I think we can identify more with what generally is the labor movement.

Ohio is the fourth largest industrial state, and it is conservative. You've heard spokesmen here from many of the larger areas. We hail from Youngstown, Ohio, which has a small council. My full time job is Assistant Regional Director of the United Steelworkers of America. My colleague here today is Financial Secretary of the Council, and a full-time teacher. We come from a council that is only part time. But we are convinced that the progress that any labor organization has, is dependent upon how much influence they're going to have in the education arena.

You have heard different approaches from other councils and I think it has become clear that different approaches are necessary because circumstances differ. So I don't think it's a question of whether we make as much progress as somebody else because in each situation you are going to find that the circumstances regarding your influence in that community will require your kind of direction in obtaining the goals we are attempting to establish here.

Now, we are convinced as laboring people, prior to the establishment of the public school system in 1820, that one of the arguments at that time was that education or too much education for workers was dangerous and it should be restricted to the rich families. We have found through bitter experience that since the adoption of the free public education system, the affluent in our society have guarded the education system very zealously on the pretext that they want to maintain this free enterprise system. Actually, what they were doing was protecting it from our families and our children so that they would, as they believed, prevent us from indoctrinating them in a radical viewpoint.

This attitude prevails to this day. There are three experiences which we have had in our area that I would like to share with you. They are typical of what has been going on in many communities throughout the country.

As a central labor council, we naturally support candidates for the school board who we believe share our views. We aligned with the Youngstown Diocese in these campaigns.

The first candidate, a former secretary in the central council's office, won overwhelmingly to the consternation of the community after the election. Subsequently, they went to work on her and brought her into their fold.

The second was a friendly doctor. We picked him because it appeared to us that professional people were more acceptable on the school board. The local A.M.A. brought tremendous pressure on him, threatened his expulsion and reduced his effectiveness.

The third candidate whom we supported was a liberal business leader. They got to him through his company by having him transferred to another city through an attractive offer which he couldn't turn down.

These are some examples which show to what lengths some influential community people will go to control the schools.

Now let me say a word about financing our schools. This is also important if labor is to bring about some equitable balance in the projects and materials that go into the schools. Since the tax base in many urban communities has dropped, access to local school boards has increased. They need support.

We are faced with the question on how do you finance the projects which are the subject of this conference. It is out of the question for small central bodies to do the job. To deal with this, we in Ohio are trying to organize the 50 central labor councils in the state to seek state aid for our program

We are seeking about $300,000 for a state-wide labor history project. If successful, tapes and other visual aid material could become available to the classroom teacher. We are major taxpayers and on this basis are entitled to a fair shake in regard to the quality of education our children get.

So, at this time, my colleague, Marcella Crann, will elaborate on what we are planning. She is the Chairman of the Education Committee of the Greater Youngstown Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

EXCERPTS FROM THE REMARKS OF

MARCELLA CRANN, CHAIRWOMAN, EDUCATION COMMITTEE

THE GREATER YOUNGSTOWN AFL-CIO COUNCIL

As Ms. Crann developed her presentation to the body, she made several key and significant points. Her analysis of the Youngstown Experience is recounted here in part. (Conference Report Editor)

History of Youngstown Experience

The Education Committee of the central body approached the problem by making an initial assessment of the existing resources avaialble on labor education in the schools. Evaluation of textbooks indicated that labor material was either distorted, biased against labor or non-existent. There was no labor material in school libraries although public libraries did have some good material together with an adequate plan for periodic purchases.

Other resource searches yielded only bits and pieces of positive material available. Such material, in all cases, needed to be put into serviceable form for classroom usage.

It was found that where material did exist, it was geared to the junior and senior high school levels. None was available for elementary grade levels.

The committee decided, as a result of its findings, to seek representation on the school textbook selection committee in the social studies field. Furthermore, it decided to seek assistance from the National AFL-CIO Department of Education to serve as a clearing house, providing professional judgements on the quality of material to be introduced into the schools.

Referring to the transcript of her remarks, Ms. Crann indicated:

During the elementary years in school, social studies is an integral part of the curriculum every year. But, when you reach high school in our system, there is only one social studies class that is mandatory for all students to take. Some hold the feeling that very young students could not comprehend what was involved in the labor movement. So high school lesson plans designed for the AFT by Will Scoggins were used with 10 & 11 year olds.

These students understood the basic concepts of collective bargaining involving grievance, negotiations, binding contract, strike, just cause, ratification, etc. They could role play the situation for you without a script. So we felt we had established that young children can learn concepts geared to their level beginning with kindergarten with a developmental concept reinforcement type approach just as in any other subject matter field.

We must understand that career education will, and is beginning, in kindergarten and therefore, we cannot afford to ignore the elementary area of learning. Further, many educators and psychologists believe that students form values and attitudes before entering junior high school and that these values and attitudes will be held, possibly, for their entire lives.

Knowing this, how could we practically reach the classroom as to our concern for the inclusion of education about unions in the learning process. We had learned that various areas had distributed materials directly to teachers requesting them to use such in their classrooms for teaching. So we tried this approach through the Education Committee of the Youngstown Area AFL-CIO Council.

Lesson plans prepared for the AFT were given to each teacher accompanied by a letter requesting the teacher to use the material in his teaching in the classroom adapting it to his own particular situation. We then followed up and tried to obtain knowledge as to their experience in the classroom. Did they use it? What happened?

We received no response and we feel for three general reasons: (1) teachers individually were fearful of initiating something new on their own, especially if it was a controversial issue such as labor; (2) that the attitude towards labor was so anti within the school system that if they did utilize the material they were reluctant to admit it; and (3) the teachers are also reluctant to tackle any area in which they have virtually no knowledge.

We met with the Labor Education Research Service and the Ohio State AFL-CIO to learn what help these organizations could offer. We noted in meeting with them the necessity for teacher training on a college level in the studies of labor. From our initial research we concluded:

(1) We needed materials developed expressly for the classroom that are serviceable in terms of content, student use and teacher guidance. Bits and pieces as supplemental material was not the answer to a total cohesive developmental curriculum, kindergarten through 12th grade, and then on to college.

(2) Materials developed would need to be reviewed by knowledgeable individuals for factual verification, attitude projection, and acceptance by labor as fair treatment of the subject.

(3) That very young students can learn about unions.

(4) School libraries had to house labor material to support a curriculum.

(5) Teachers needed knowledge and in-service training.

(6) We needed an approach that would "really" get labor into the curriculum.

(7) It was difficult to identify union printed texts since the "bug" was not used which normally identified union made goods.

(8) Publishers respond when you generate a market for a product.

So we had reached a point in our searching that dictated an effort on a larger scale than a central body working with a local school system. And we realized that the program was a tremendous undertaking and could not be done adequately as an isolated project. We further felt that if this were a national effort the school systems, the school boards and superintendents would be more receptive to instituting education about unions in the total school curriculum.

Thus came about the Resolution from Youngstown passed at the 1971 AFL-CIO Convention. Now with the resolution in hand, how to implement it? We arranged a dinner meeting with the Executive Board of the Council Education Committee, all members of the Youngstown Board of Education, the Superintendent of Youngstown Public Schools and his administrative aids. At this meeting we presented the program.

(1) The long range goal is inclusion of education about unions in the total curriculum, K through 12, with a specialized labor course to be offered on the high school level. And we admit that we do not have the wide range of materials necessary presently for K through 12, but that we do have materials that can be put into the high school classes with some modification and we did give the instance of Viewpoints of American Labor that Mr. Sloan has written. We have since acquired from others which I will mention later.

(2) To achieve this, it is necessary to assign a full-time, qualified labor person knowledgeable and experienced in labor affairs. This person would be responsible for:

A. Buying labor textbooks and materials necessary for the Social Studies Classes;

B. Arranging the in-service training of the teachers in conjunction with the Council's Education Committee and L.E.R.S. of Ohio State University, as well as the National AFL-CIO Department of Education;

C. Reviewing the libraries in the school system and seeing that appropriate material is available and making selection of, and keeping materials updated;

D. Getting the approval of qualified labor educators on selection and purchase of materials to be utilized in instruction, keeping in mind that union-made texts and materials would be used not only in Social Studies classes, but wherever possible in the entire school system;

E. Working closely with the Education Committee of the Council who would make available speakers and resources for planning any activities that would aid in establishing programs;

F. Overseeing the implementation of the materials in the classrooms;

G. Pursuing the preparation and provision of materials for a developmental program (K-12) for Education About Unions and enlisting the support of local labor councils, state and national labor organizations toward this end; and

H. On a continuing, regular basis, holding one-day symposiums for all teachers, bringing in qualified national and state labor educators to make teachers more knowledgeable on labor and its functions and interests.

(3) That the school system make available labor publications such as the AFL-CIO News, Federationist, News & Views, etc. through their school library allocations.

Following our presentation we had a frank, informal discussion. The Board of Education and the Superintendent seemed favorable to our request and soon after our dinner meeting the Superintendent contacted us and requested that we meet with a three-man curriculum committee composed of an elementary supervisor, a secondary supervisor of social studies and a secondary school principal. Now, some may object and say -- Well, where was the teacher representation? You're looking at it -- I'm wearing two hats; I'm the labor representative and also the teacher representative since I teach in that particular school system. Now we wanted to begin discussion on procedure on how to develop a design to incorporate labor into the public school curriculum of Youngstown. Before meeting with the school systems Curriculum Committee, we identified our immediate needs or goals that would be realistic. We recognized the magnitude of the task and decided to proceed slowly, to nurture the program and to build on it with sound educational materials.

We decided that experimental programs with in-service teachers would be a beginning. Library materials would be purchased to support the particular pilot programs instituted.

We had to be prepared to offer resources from the National AFL-CIO, State AFL-CIO, the University Labor Education Research Service as well as from the local central body.

We met with the curriculum committee and arranged pilot programs for the eleventh grade. This grade level was selected as our target since it is the only secondary area when all students are required to take social studies. We decided on a mini-course to run 4 to 6 weeks. These materials had to be organized and adapted for the classroom, including teachers' manuals used as a guide as to the structure, use, and implementation of the programs on a day-to day basis. And it was very difficult. You have pamphlets, you have booklets and so forth. But if you don't have it set up for that teacher as a guide on a day-to-day basis, then you're going to have difficulty getting that teacher to implement a program.

With the approval of the school system's curriculum committee we decided on two workshop teacher sessions for this fall. The first one to include the Superintendent, the Curriculum Committee, all Social Studies teachers, that would be convened by the Superintendent at a central location on school-day time. In other words, on work time, not after school.

We made arrangements with the National AFL-CIO Department of Education to provide the initial presentation by Jack Sessions, Assistant Director of the Department. We also made up information kits and the material for these kits was provided by the National AFL-CIO Education Department, the Ohio AFL-CIO, The Greater Youngstown AFL-CIO Council, the United Steelworkers of America, the International Molders & Allied Workers, the UAW and other international unions.

At the first session it was decided that we would orient teachers as to techniques that may be used in instructing students about labor. The follow-up workshop session for teachers will present the particular programs that will be placed in the school curriculum, with instruction as to how to use them.

Alternate lesson plans and experimental material on labor will also be given to teachers to use in teaching in their particular discipline in their classrooms outside of the specified pilot programs. Thereby, we will have several pilot programs in the high schools, junior high and even elementary school, with the emphasis for this phase in the target area at 11th grade. This is the particular area we will watch very closely. These programs will be instituted into the school curriculum in the second semester of this school year.

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VII

WORKSHOP RESPONSES

WORKSHOP RESPONSES

The first opportunity for participants to meet in small group sessions yielded some specific responses to the conference speakers with some duplication among groups. The following is an outline of those responses with the duplication deleted:

Group A

The major points made by this group were:

1. There needs to be a central clearing house for labor material.

2. Labor education should address some of its program activity to union families. Such activity could take several forms. Information about labor can be disseminated throughout the community.

3. Information of a factual nature is needed on the question of how to get good labor materials used in the schools.

4. Labor should not confine itself to textbooks since their general use is decreasing. Instead, labor should develop supplementary materials in a variety of subject areas.

Group B

1. We should expand our efforts of getting more labor representatives into the schools to supplement the teachers' lesson plans.

2. All programs should begin in the elementary schools.

3. In-service training for teachers in labor subjects must be undertaken on a release-time basis.

4. Efforts must be made to develop community allies who share the view that children should have a balanced education.

5. The AFL-CIO Department of Education should play the coordinating role of disseminating information among unions.

Group C

1. Training programs designed for labor speakers are also useful. Without this added component, labor speakers could be harmful to the overall effort.

Group C (contd.)

2. There is great need to find ways to influence curriculum design committees at teacher colleges.

3. Material development should stress labor's role in our society, not so much labor history.

4. Joint apprenticeship committees and vocational education programs offer the most promising opportunity of getting materials into the schools.

5. International unions can help with item "4" above.

Group D

1. On the question of whether to move in the direction of the elective course approach or to redesign social studies and American history curriculum, the group felt that both were important and accordingly, we should move concurrently.

2. On the question of whether labor - management schemes offer the best approach toward getting materials into the schools, the group had some doubts. In any event, organizations like the Joint Council on Economic Education offer the best hope in this area.

3. The group raised the point that education programs held within the nation's prison system could benefit from labor materials.

4. Within the AFL-CIO structure, it was agreed that education committees of local central councils are the best vehicles for implementing labor's program.

A summary of the general discussion which followed the workshop reports is reflected by the following comments:

"Materials, when developed, must be addressed to levels K through 12."

"Comprehensive education programs about labor should be offered to all new members."

"We should resolve the question of whether we want labor textbooks or should we seek to correct the portrayal of labor in all American history and social studies textbooks, or both."

"All of labor's efforts must be in the context that schools must develop the spirit of inquiry among children. This is the task before us."

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VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Planning Conference concluded its work on an optimistic note. The participants explored the various points of view among them in the three-day meeting.

Little doubt remained among the staff of the AFL-CIO Department of Education that Resolution #61 had indeed opened up a long overdue concern of the trade union movement.

Nor was there doubt about the character or content of the general curriculum offered in the nation's elementary and secondary schools in terms of the imbalanced treatment of labor in social studies and American history courses. Participants observed that the charges made by Resolution #61 indeed had merit and that there were ways to correct this long-standing grievance.

They, on the other hand, strongly cautioned against emulating the attitude of some industry groups more concerned with indoctrinating American youth to the corporate point of view. Instead, they called for an objective program, designed to upgrade the literacy of students about the role of American labor in our society.

They pointed to the total involvement of business and industry in the decision making process in American education. Rather than raising total objection to such involvement, they called for labor participation to bring about a more balanced view of our economy and a more factual view of the forces at work in our society which influence public policy.

One key observation spelled out the rationale for labor's concern. It is simply the concern of American workers as education consumers. Workers and their families have a substantial stake in what occurs in the classrooms of America, particularly at grade levels K through 12.

Organized workers, alone, number some 19 million. Using the multiplier of 4, if one expresses the problem in terms of trade union members and their families, the figure sharply escalates to 76 million.

One participant raised a point related to this statement in the following manner. "Come on! Who says we speak for 76 million people?" Another participant responded "Nobody makes that assertion. All we are saying is that we are the only ones who are speaking for American workers. Unorganized workers, by definition, have no voice."

The Planning Conference represented an initial step toward addressing the long-standing grievance of American unions on the question of the treatment of labor as an institution in American life.

Speaker after speaker related the story about what exists in their communities. The similarity was striking. Some 110 delegates from 25 states contributed to the dialogue.

As indicated in the introduction to this report, the mix of backgrounds involved provided a broad cross-section of views from labor, the education community and textbook publishing world.

On the final day, they were charged to assemble in small group sessions and to formulate practical and concrete recommendations to the AFL-CIO Department of Education which would, in turn, evaluate and recommend specific courses of action to the AFL-CIO Standing Committee on Education at its next meeting. The Committee was formed in 1955 under Article XII, Section (f) of the AFL-CIO Constitution. It was charged to:

> "...promote the widest possible understanding among union members of the aims of the Federation, assist affiliated unions in developing their own educational programs and shall implement the Federation's interest in providing the nation with the highest standard of education at all levels;"

The following recommendations were presented to the next meeting of the Standing Committee on April 16, 1974, and unanimously adopted. A report will subsequently be made to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

Of the eighteen recommendations, the department staff took the following action:

A. It concurred with ten recommendations;

B. It held three in abeyance, subject to a determination of which unit within the AFL-CIO structure is best suited to effectively implement the recommendations;

C. It disagreed with five recommendations on the grounds that they were impractical.

Recommendations

Category A -- It is recommended:

1. that labor work through existing organizations to promote labor subjects in the school curriculum;

2. that the Education Department of the AFL-CIO encourage state AFL-CIO councils to promote the establishment of centers for research, collection and distribution of material in labor education;

3. that the AFL-CIO encourage all of its affiliates to develop education programs in labor subjects for the education and enrichment of their own respective membership.

4. that a follow-up conference be held to assess the impact of the Planning Conference, to share information about new initiatives underway and to explore the future steps necessary to reach the overall goal of fair treatment of labor in the schools;

5. that the AFL-CIO Department of Education pursue the subject of the Conference with publishers of material used in school curriculum K through 12, with the purpose of urging their review of material now in use;

6. that the AFL-CIO, through its Department of Education, disseminate information about federal aid to education to all state and local central bodies;

7. that state labor councils seek participation at all hearings called by appropriate agencies of government for the purpose of approving the usage of textbooks and other materials. State councils are also urged to make known AFL-CIO policy as set forth in Resolution 61 of the 1971 AFL-CIO Convention and the report of this conference;

8. that the AFL-CIO encourage the appointment of an education representative of each of its central labor councils to work closely with persons or groups within the labor movement and to establish an effective liaison with local education agencies for the purpose of implementing AFL-CIO policy on labor and the schools;

9. that state AFL-CIO councils, through their designated representatives, approach chief state education officers and request that American Labor History be offered in all vocational education programs. Responses to such approaches should be reported to the national AFL-CIO Department of Education;

10. that the Department of Education of the AFL CIO design and develop a total cohesive program on education about unions, grade levels K through 12, that can be implemented at the central body level.

Category B -- Recommendations involved, essentially, a search for available funds for research and development in labor history. It was furthermore suggested that the AFL-CIO initiate in-service training projects for teachers.

Finally, that the AFL-CIO establish a national committee on trade union documentation. Such a committee should be composed of appropriate persons from the academic field and the trade union movement. Suggested materials reviewed under this proposal would be books, union records, oral histories, etc.

Category C -- Are those proposals with which the staff is not in concurrence and involve primarily ideas and methods which conflict with established AFL-CIO policy. For example:

1. that the labor movement at the local level urge school boards to allocate more money for instructional material and to actively lobby for same;

2. that the AFL-CIO organize a national coalition and fifty state coalitions all with full time staff support to work on the problems set forth in Resolution #61;

3. that the AFL-CIO assess its members to establish a fund to implement the program;

4. that the AFL-CIO establish a task force;

5. that the AFL-CIO establish a matching-grant scholarship fund with each of the fifty state AFL-CIO councils.

The next step planned is a progress staff memorandum which will be disseminated among Conference participants.

The department has distributed a survey questionnaire among the more than 700 central labor bodies requesting that they identify the chairman of their education committee and to forward an outline of their program activities.

Once the returns of the questionnaires are completed, a solid link between the national AFL-CIO Department of Education and the local central bodies will be established.

This internal structure can indeed offer viable ways of implementing the above recommendations.

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IX

APPENDIX

Bibliography

New York Times Article

List of Participants

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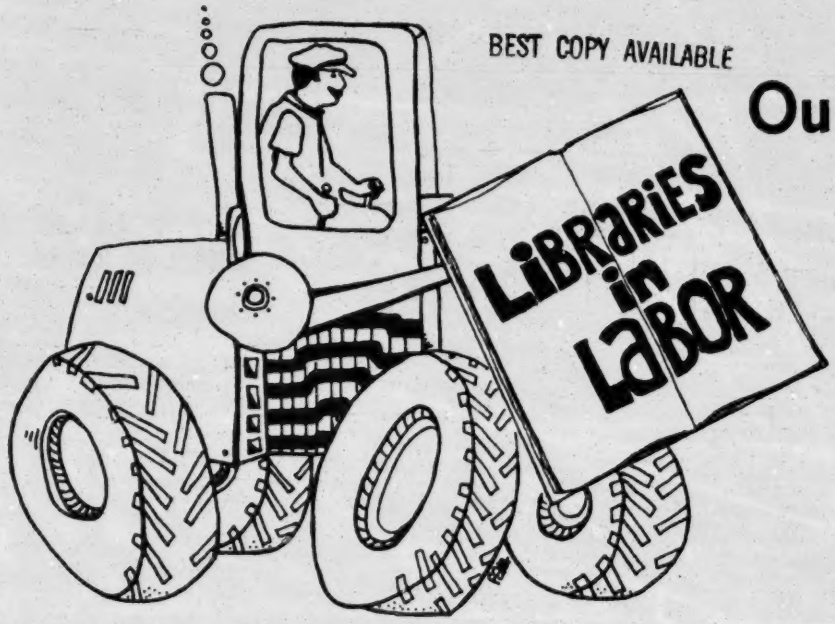

Our labor heritage

A selective list of books for young adults and children on the labor movement with reading suggestions for elementary and junior and senior high school students, teachers, and librarians. Prepared by the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR/CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION (REFERENCE AND ADULT SERVICES DIVISION) JOINT COMMITTEE ON LIBRARY SERVICE TO LABOR GROUPS, JEAN Y. WEBBER, *compiler.*

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A general history of the labor movement for the advanced reader.

——Picket lines and bargaining tables: organized labor comes of age, 1935-55. 1968. Grosset & Dunlap, $4.50; lib. ed., $4.59.

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Brief biographies of William Sylvis, Terence Powderly, Samuel Gompers, William Haywood, William Green, John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, David Dubinsky, Sidney Hillman, Walter Reuther, and A. Philip Randolph.

Daniels, Patricia L. Famous labor leaders. 1970. Dodd, $3.50.

Exciting episodes in the American labor movement as seen through the lives of some of its outstanding leaders.

David, Daniel S. Mr. Black Labor: the story of A. Philip Randolph, father of the civil rights movement. 1972. Dutton, $6.50.

An excellent biography of one of the giants of the American labor movement.

Franchere, Ruth. Cesar Chavez. 1970. Crowell, $3.75.

An easy-to-read biography of the Mexican American who led the movement to organize farm workers. Elementary grades.

Korson, George K. John E. Lewis: young militant labor leader. 1970. Bobbs-Merrill, $2.75; text ed., $2.44.

The childhood days of the former president of the United Mine Workers. Elementary grades.

Leipold, L. Edmond. Famous American labor leaders. 1972. Denison, $3.99.

Brief biographies of 10 leaders in the American labor movement, including Samuel Gompers, John L. Lewis, David Dubinsky, and George Meany.

Madison, Charles A. American labor leaders: personalities and forces in the labor movement. 2nd ed. 1962. Ungar, $8.50.

A collection of brief biographies of labor leaders and their impact on labor history. For the advanced reader.

Noble, Iris. Labor's advocate: Eugene V. Debs. 1966. Messner, $3.50; lib. ed., $3.34.

Portrait of a labor leader who championed social and economic issues during the early 1900s.

Selvin, David F. Champions of labor. 1967. Abelard, $4.95.

Short sketches of the lives and work of important leaders of American labor.

——Sam Gompers: labor's pioneer. 1964. Abelard, $3.75.

——The thundering voice of John L. Lewis. 1969. Lothrop, $5.50; lib. ed., $4.81.

Werstein, Irving. Labor's defiant lady: the story of Mother Jones. 1969. Crowell, $4.50.

An exciting and unusual life story of one of the great women crusaders for workers.

HOW UNIONS WORK

Lens, Sidney. Unions and what they do. 1968. Putnam, Lib. ed., $3.86.

A simply written explanation of the organization and activities of unions, including the AFL-CIO.

Peterson, Florence. American labor unions. 2nd ed. 1963. Harper, $6.50.

A description of labor unions and how they work.

Sims, Carolyn. Labor unions in the United States: a first book. 1971. Franklin Watts, Lib. ed., $3.75.

An informative book on unions, their organization, goals, and concerns. Elementary grades.

Schwartz, Alvin. The unions: what they are, how they came to be, and how they affect each of us. 1972. Viking, $6.95.

Traces the growth of labor groups from pre-Revolutionary War societies to the AFL-CIO merger; also discusses the organization and activities of unions today.

WORKERS IN THE FIELDS

Heapers, Willard A. Wandering workers: the story of American migrant farm workers and their problems. 1968. Crown, $4.95.

Holland, Ruth. Forgotten minority: America's tenant farmers and migrant workers. 1970. Macmillan. Lib. ed., $4.50.

The field workers' struggle for justice.

Lampman, Evelyn. Go up the road. 1972. Atheneum, $5.50.

A moving story of migratory farm life is woven around the experiences of a twelve-year-old Mexican girl and her family.

Steinbeck, John. Grapes of wrath. 1939. Viking, $7.50, paper, $1.95.

The plight of the migratory farm workers in the 1930s showing the "factory in the fields" system of farming.

Terzian, James and **Cramer, Kathryn.** Mighty hard road: the story of Cesar Chavez. 1970. Doubleday, $3.50; paper, $1.45.

Cesar Chavez's heroic efforts to better the lives of the exploited farm workers.

Weinder, Sandra. Small hands, big hands: seven stories of Mexican-American migrant workers and their families. 1970. Pantheon, $3.95; lib. ed., $4.41.

Illustrated with full-page photographs, these are revealing first-person sketches by young people and adults.

Young, Bob and **Young, Jan.** Goodbye, Amigos. 1963. Messner, $3.50.

Cathy Miller, a rancher's daughter, tries to better working conditions of migrant workers with unforeseen results.

Young, Jan. The migrant workers and Cesar Chavez. 1972. Messner, $4.50; lib. ed., $4.29.

Describes the causes and events of the California grape strike and the role of Chavez in its successful resolution.

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UNIONISTS STUDY CLASSROOM ROLE

Parley Seeks Ways to Impart Better Picture to Pupils

By EVAN JENKINS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29—For three days this week, 140 men and women met here to discuss ways to improve the picture of the American labor movement that is conveyed to the nation's schoolchildren.

The National Planning Conference on Labor and the Schools, held at the Shoreham Hotel, was called by the education department of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations as a result of a resolution passed at the last federation convention in 1971 in Miami Beach.

The resolution asserted that organized labor, as a historical and contemporary force in American life, was either ignored or maligned in schools, while such organizations as the Chamber of Commerce and manufacturers' groups were able to have the viewpoint of business well-represented.

"We are reaping the harvest of exclusion from the educational process in the body of our young new trade unionists whom we find either antilabor or at the least apathetic [toward] labor's efforts and causes," the resolution declared.

Complaint 70 Years Old

The complaint is an old one, having arisen as early as 1903 when an A. F. L. convention called on its Executive Council "to secure the introduction of textbooks that will be more in accord with the modern thought upon social and political economy."

"We've been hearing gripes for years from local labor leaders that their kids weren't getting a fair picture in the schools of the role of labor unions in the country and the community," said Walter G. Davis, director of the A. F. L.-C. I. O. education department, who was chairman of the conference this week. "But the general feeling years ago was that we just couldn't do anything about it."

Although most of those at the conference were union leaders from various parts of the country, Mr. Davis said that the discussions also attracted school and college teachers, state education officials and representatives of textbook publishers.

Union participants said that the problems with young workers cited in the 1971 resolution were reflected in two ways: difficulty in organizing the unorganized and antipathy to unions among those who must nevertheless join them because it is a requirement where they work.

Emphasis on Violence

Al Wickman, director of education for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, said that the image of labor presented in the schools "has been one of violence in almost every instance." He added:

"We have trouble with new people in the movement convincing them we're not revolutionaries, radicals and bomb throwers. All they've ever heard about is the Haymarket riot and the Pullman strike."

The new emphasis nationally on acquainting school children with the world of work was described at the conference as adding urgency to the need for getting favorable information about the labor movement into school curriculums.

Several of the conferences cited examples of what they described as labor's absence from the classroom.

John A. Sessions, Mr. Davis's assistant, told in an address of one widely used history textbook that "with an unparalleled sense of proportion" gave "exactly as much space to organized labor as it does to the Walt Disney picture 'Mary Poppins.'"

Albert Shanker, head of New York City's 75,000-member United Federation of Teachers, who addressed the conference on its first day, said that a recent analysis of the city's social studies curriculum found a focus on the labor movement only in a single high school economics course.

A New Curriculum

A curriculum for all grades adding the "labor dimension" has now been developed, he said, and will be made available to the system's teachers.

Similar steps have been taken elsewhere after thorough cooperation between labor councils and local and state boards of education.

Illustrating what was generally conceded to be an improved situation from labor's point of view, a pamphlet reviewing and rating 26 currently used history and civics textbooks described 18 as excellent, superior or good and only eight as fair or poor.

The conference passed several resolutions whose thrust was a call for increased activity by labor councils to encourage better teaching about the labor movement and collective bargaining.

As one speaker told a session that was drafting resolutions, "We should find out where textbooks are adopted and make damned sure organized labor is in on the process."

The conference also urged the labor federation's education department to serve as a national clearinghouse for information about curriculum materials and about local problems and progress.

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